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also, one rub-quern, which must have been used previously to the invention of the rotatory movement in the hand-mill."

The following papers were then submitted to the Meeting.

THE IRISH CORRESPONDENCE OF JAMES FITZ MAURICE OF DESMOND.

EDITED BY JOHN O'DONOVAN, ESQ., LL. D., M. R. I. A.

THE writer to whom, and by whom, the following letters and proclamations were written and issued was James, son of Maurice Duff, son of John, son of Thomas Fitzgerald, a near relative of the last Earl of Desmond. In the year 1560 he and his brother Thomas made a hostile attack on Mac Carthy Reagh, but he was defeated by Mac Carthy on the margin of the River Bandon, opposite Inishannon, with the loss of three hundred of his family and followers. O'Daly informs us, in his "*History of the Geraldines*" (c. xvii.), that the Earl of Desmond and his brother privately intimated to this James Fitz Maurice their anxious desire that he would take upon himself the leadership of the Geraldines while they should be detained in captivity.

The Four Masters state that this James was chief leader of the Geraldines, instead of the sons of James, son of John, who had been kept in captivity in London, for a year previously to August, 1568, when James made a predatory incursion into Clanmaurice, in Kerry, which he totally ravaged and burned. Fitz Maurice, the Lord of the territory, retired to Lixnaw, where they were besieged by James and his forces. James was, however, defeated with considerable slaughter of his followers.

In the year 1569 James was joined by some of the most powerful men in Munster in opposition to the English Government. The two brothers of the Earl of Ormonde, during the Earl's absence in England, also confederated with him, but on the Earl's return his brothers were pardoned and reconciled to the state.¹

In 1570 the Earl of Ormonde invaded Desmond with a powerful force, and James Fitz Maurice was unable to resist him, because he was himself opposed by the whole country. The sons of the Earl of Desmond were still in prison in London.

In 1571 James Fitz Maurice took and plundered Kilmallock, and carried off its various treasures to the woods of Aherlo. He set fire to the town, and destroyed all its edifices of wood and stone, and Kilmallock became the abode of wolves. In this year he was joined by the soldiers, mercenaries, and insurgents of Desmond, and success-

¹ See Camden's *Annals*, Reg. Eliz., A. D. 1569, p. 173.

fully defended Castlemaine against Sir John Perrott, from the 24th of June till the middle of autumn.

In 1572 the President of Munster laid siege to Castlemaine, and continued the siege for three months, and finally took it—James, son of Maurice, being absent in Connaught; the defenders, being in want of food, were obliged to surrender. In the autumn of this year the Earl of Desmond (Garrett, son of James, son of John) was set at liberty, and reconciled to the state. On his return home he induced his sons to dismiss their hired soldiers, and desist from their rebellious practices. In the mean time our hero, James, son of Maurice Duff, was away with the sons of the Earl of Clanrickard, who were then in rebellion. James's object was to hire Scottish soldiers in Connaught, and proceeded with them to the relief of Castlemaine.

In 1573 James, son of Maurice, continued to war with the English, and made peace with the President of Munster in the spring. At the same time Garrett, Earl of Desmond, and his brother John, were released from captivity in London, where they had been detained for six years. On their arrival in the harbour of Dublin the Earl was put under arrest, and John was permitted to return to Desmond. On St. Patrick's day in this year, the Earl of Desmond escaped from Dublin, and arrived in Desmond after a journey of three days. On his arrival in Desmond he took possession of all the castles of that territory, and expelled the English therefrom.

Ware says, in his "Annals of Ireland," that after the escape of the Earl of Desmond from Dublin he was proclaimed a traitor, with a promise of £1000 sterling and £40 pension to any one who should bring him in alive, and £500 sterling and £20 pension to him that should bring in his head. O'Daly asserts, chap xviii., that the Earl of Desmond, on his arrival in Dublin, was informed by a member of the Council that a plot was laid for the ruin of the Geraldines, and that thereupon the Earl sent word to John and James, cautioning them on no terms to leave their territories; and that, having dispatched this message, he himself soon after escaped from Dublin:—

"A. D. 1575. James, son of Maurice, went to France with his wife and children from fear of the English, with whom the Earl of Desmond and his brother John had made peace.

"A. D. 1577. John, son of James of Desmond, was taken prisoner at Cork by the President, William Drury, and sent to Dublin to be imprisoned, where Richard Burke, Earl of Clanrickard, was also imprisoned.

"A. D. 1579. James, son of Maurice, returned from France, and landed at Dun-an-oir in Kerry. After some useless fighting he was at length killed in the same year by the Burkes and O'Briens of Ara, on the borders of the counties of Limerick and Tipperary."

It is curious to observe that neither Camden, the Four Masters, nor Ware, had any knowledge of the agreement between this James Fitz Maurice and the famous Stukely. O'Daly, who was better

acquainted with the ecclesiastical negotiations of this period than any of these writers, says, in his "History of the Geraldines," chap. xx., xxi., that this James, in his last interview with Pope Gregory XIII., besought his Holiness to appoint a certain Englishman, named Stukely, to the command of the vessels destined to convey men and arms to Ireland, but that Stukely shaped his course for Portugal, and sailed into the harbour of Lisbon at the very moment that King Sebastian was preparing an expedition against the Moors in Africa; that Stukely joined this expedition in violation of his promise to the Pope and the oath he had sworn to James Fitz Maurice; and that, shortly after they had landed in Africa, a terrible battle was fought in which three kings, namely, Sebastian, his ally, Mahomet, and Muley Moloc were slain, as was also Stukely.¹

The accompanying genealogical table will exhibit at one view the relationship between the last Earl of Desmond, the *sugane* Earl (James, son of Thomas, son of James), and this James, son of Maurice.² It has been compiled from a Geraldine pedigree inserted in a copy of Keating's "History of Ireland," the genealogical work of Duaid Mac Firbis, p. 787, and of Peregrine O'Clery, p. 261, and the dates have been added from the "Annals of the Four Masters," and Archdall's edition of Lodge's "Peerage."

This genealogy, showing the descent of the Earls of Kildare and Desmond, differs very materially from those in the published Peerages of Lodge, Burke, &c. The Peerages deduce the descent of both families from Thomas na n-appagh (of the Apes), who was nine months old in 1261, when he was the sole survivor of his family, and who died in 1296. Opposite Maurice, son of John, of Callann Mac Firbis, writes:—"Do cum ap éúipeadh an clann rap na éug."

The late William Lynch, Esq., the son of Mr. Patrick Lynch, author of the "Life of St. Patrick," in his "Feudal Dignities," denies that the Desmond family was at all connected with that of Leinster subsequently to the year 1199, and this ingenious author supports his statement by the clearest documentary evidence.

The Marquis of Kildare, who has given much attention to the genealogy and history of the Geraldines, agrees with Lynch that the families of Kildare and Desmond separated before the year 1216. Describing the Red Book of Kildare, which was compiled in 1503, he writes:—

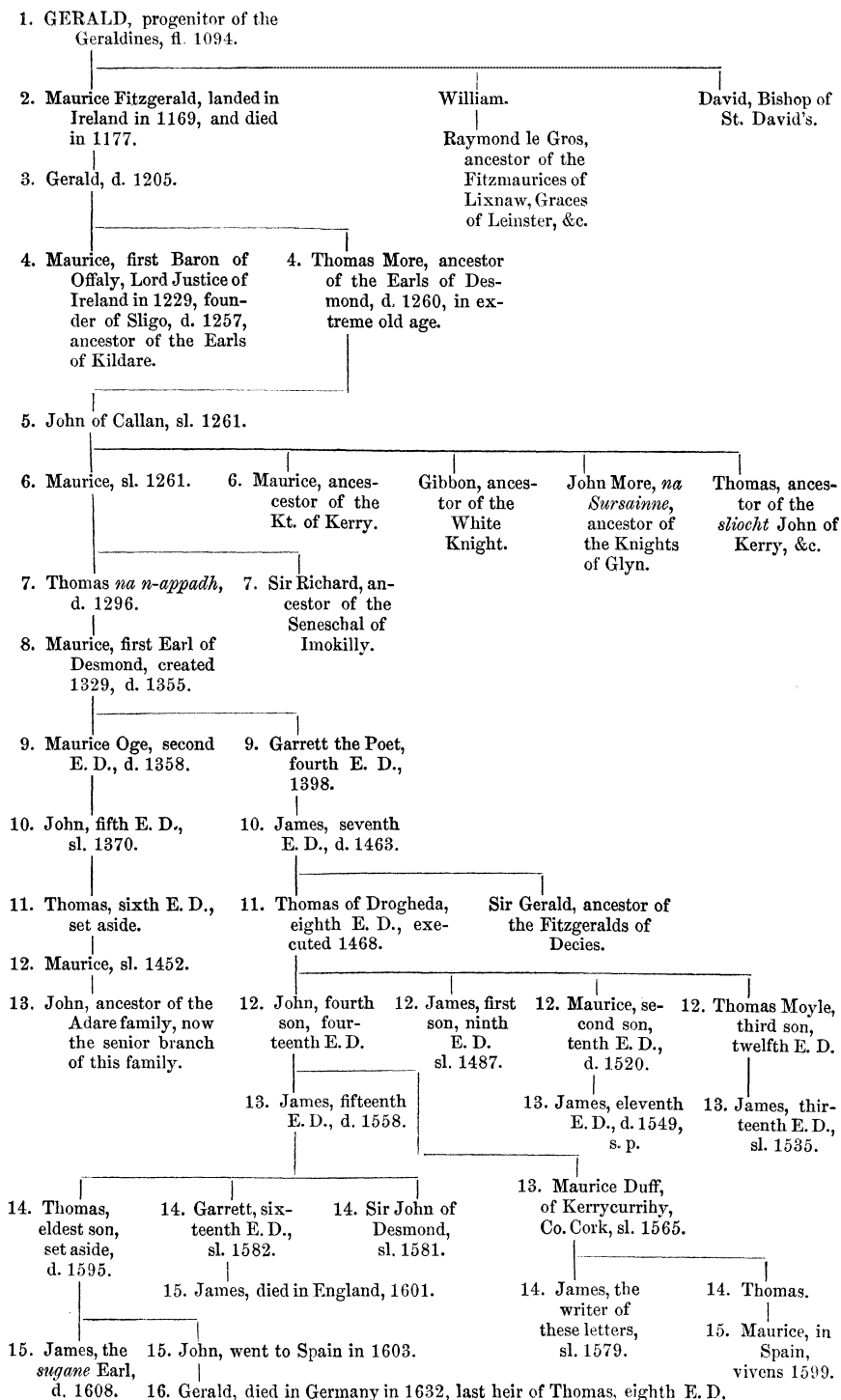
"The Red Book contains copies of grants and title-deeds, from 1216, of estates belonging to our family, but it does not refer to the Desmond possessions, whence I infer that the two families separated before 1216. The most authentic account that I am aware of, of the early history of the Desmonds, is Lynch's 'Feudal Dignities,' published some years since."

¹ See Sir Richard Cox's "Hibernia Anglicana," vol. i., p. 354; and also Leland's

"History of Ireland," Book iv., ch. ii.

² See "Four Masters," p. 2264.

PEDIGREE OF THE DESMOND GERALDINES.



The Marquis of Kildare has kindly furnished the following Genealogical Table (showing where he thinks the Kildare and Desmond Geraldines meet) in a letter to the editor, dated June 2, 1858, in which he writes :—

“From documents in the last [part] of Kildare’s Red Book I have traced, I believe accurately, the descent of my own branch of the Geraldines, and I am of opinion that the Desmond branch is derived from Maurice Fitz Gerald, who died in 1177, as in the accompanying Pedigree.

“I cannot find any representation of the ape supporters earlier than 1528.

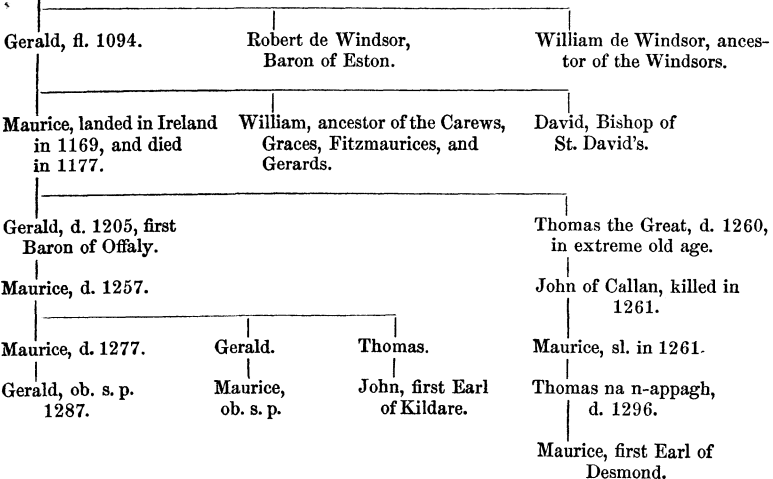
“The Manor of Croom was granted by King John to Maurice, second Baron of Offaly, in 1216, and was sold under a private Act of Parliament, about 1711, to the ancestor of Mr. Croker of Ballynagarde.

“I do not know where the Irish genealogists got the early generations in the Pedigree which you enclosed, but they seem to have mingled strangely the second sons with the eldest line.”

The following is the Genealogical Table enclosed in his Lordship’s letter :—

OTHO, supposed to have been of the family of the
Gherardini of Florence, fl. 1057.

Walter, fl. 1078.



The following list of the chiefs and Earls of Desmond of this family is from the genealogical work of Duaid Mac Firbis. The dates are given in brackets from the Irish Annals. The succession was nearly as irregular as that of the Irish chieftains, and was carried by the force of faction and the strong hand :—

"The genealogy of the Geraldines [of Desmond] here, as many of them as obtained territory and lordship since they came to Ireland first, to the year of our Lord 1611:—

"1. Gerald, son of Maurice, who was Lord Justice of Ireland [d. 1205].

"2. Maurice, son of that Gerald, succeeded his father [d. 1257].

"3. Thomas, son of Maurice his son, son of Gerald [d. 1260, in extreme old age].

"4. John, son of Thomas his son, who built Tralee [sl. 1261].

"5. Maurice, son of John, son of Thomas, [would have] succeeded John, son of Thomas [but was sl. 1261].

"6. Thomas was son of that Maurice, i. e. Thomas *nanapa*, who succeeded his father in the Lordship [and d. 1296]. These were the six of them who were powerful lords, but no more, until the time of Maurice, son of Thomas, who was called the first Earl.

"1. This Maurice, son of Thomas, was the first who was called Earl of Desmond [created 1329, d. 1355].

"2. Maurice, son of Maurice his son, called second Earl [d. 1358].

"3. John, son of Maurice his brother, third Earl [d. 1369].

"4. Garrett, son of Maurice, i. e. *Gearoid Iarla*, [half] brother of John, fourth Earl [d. 1398].

"5. John, son of Garrett, fifth Earl of Desmond [drowned 1399].

"6. Thomas, son of John, son of *Gearoid Iarla* (Garrett Earl), who died without issue [1420].

"7. James, son of *Gearoid Iarla* (Garrett Earl), succeeded Thomas, and died [1463] leaving—

"8. Thomas, son of James, son of *Gearoid Iarla* (Garrett Earl), the eighth Earl [executed at Drogheda, 1468].

"9. James, son of Thomas, son of James, son of *Gearoid Iarla*, who died [was murdered in 1487] without issue.

"10. Maurice, son of Thomas, son of James, his other brother, i. e. Maurice *an charbaid* (of the chariot), tenth Earl [d. 1520].

"11. James, son of Maurice *an charbaid*, who died [1529] without issue, but one daughter, Joan, who was married to James Butler, i. e. Earl of Ormond.

"12. Thomas Maol, son of Thomas, who died without issue, except bastard children, twelfth Earl.

"13. John, son of Thomas, was the thirteenth Earl.

"14. James, son of Maurice, son of Thomas, who fell at *Leac an Sgail*¹ [in the county of Kilkenny] was the fourteenth Earl.

"15. James, son of John, son of Thomas, who then came into the Earldom, was fifteenth Earl [d. 1558].

"16. Garrett, son of James his son, who then took the Earldom, was sixteenth Earl [sl. 1582.]

"17. James, son of Garrett his son, who died in England, was seventeenth Earl [1601].

"18. James, son of Thomas Roe, son of James, son of Thomas, was Earl after the death of James, son of Garrett, was the eighteenth Earl of Desmond.

"This is the quantity of land which the Earl of Desmond had, i. e.

¹ Lodge has no account of this in his list of the Earls of Desmond.

Garrett, the last Earl, before he opposed the sovereign, i. e. 3555²/₃ *seisreachs* [plough lands]. According to the English measure, what he had was 106606 *seisrechs*. This was his royal rent, at half a rialo per acre, six thousand pounds a year. And this was the Earl's rent at 30 pound per *seisrech*, i. e. 106470. There were 343 castles on the lands of the Earl of Desmond."

(*Irish Correspondence, State Paper Office.*)

beata 7 pláinici ó Uiléam of Danubí gu Sémur mac Muirir, 7 bí a 7ur ag Semur gur cuir mo maighitir beannaict éirge, 7 muna fóipe Semur gu luat d'imghimair, oir a tá Seoan a bprirun a fuirpac nem maírtir do éur fairreir 7 barócig do éur gan teact cairir gu bráct arír. Agus ar an abar rin gairim é a n-ainm Dia, 7 a n-ainm mo máirtreac fá fórtact do éigí gu luat, no ní bfuil breit agao air a fóiríon; 7 preagair na cabairtair maite, map atair Clano iapla Connaict 7 mopan eile v'peairib Éirinn, 7 for bí a 7ur agao gibe ní a dubairt Emond brún naé tearbo aoin ní de, gibe ní bear leir; 7 bí a éirib agao naé éirib lín a méir atamuib ad t'uirp-arbuid d'innuir; 7 ge mu maite lín fuirinn daoine do éact leat, gu maó ro maite lín tá féin at aoinpéar do éact dár gcabair; 7 na bí gair a bfacair tu do cruatan oir, oir raolimfo-ne gu bfuil fuirinn bpear n-Éirinn ag eirge lín fein, 7 do buó peirib rin do mopan tuar; 7 na fan pe fođmar, oir ar baogal an píb do búl d'aon taobí faoir; 7 ar mo na rin do benamaoir do bporcuğad ba rilamaoir gurub luatibe do preigeortá rinne.

Agus bí a éirib agao naé uaim fein rğribaim reo, aét maille pe furáilim mu maighitreac, 7 gurub peiriclec rğribad ó Éirinn éugad, oir an leir do rğrib an rinargal a mbaille an rgeilg ba cup éugad leir an g-ceannaige ó San Málor, v'peall an ceannaigi rin, 7 Macarphairg do ba cairib Cuirb don ceandairg rin, ar an rinargal, 7 rug Mag Carphairg an leir rin gu Porc lairge, map a raibe an Guiróir, 7 an preiribne; 7 a ré faorm do bí innce .i. beata 7 pláinici ó Seoan Mac Uilliam gu Semur, 7 bí a 7ur ag Semur gur ub maite eairig cruíneact na m-bráctar, 7 gur méat cruíneact an típe, 7 do fáor Dia an Sinargal an uair rin.

Ní b'fuil do nuairgeact rğél agam aét tearbair Mag Carphairg riabac, 7 ní pág Rúirge óg O'morra cleat ná rğolb a Náir lairgean, 7 a breitib míle gacá taoba de, 7 ní hé abám aét do fáor conpáb coğad a mopán v'peairib Éirinn a n-agair Sarganac dá bpağabair cabair. Ní beag rin, aét tabair beannaict a n-ainm mo máirtreac do ri Fpange.

WILLIAM OF DANUBI, *servant of the Earl of Desmond*, to JAMES FITZ MAURICE.
July 18, 1579.

"Life and health from William of Danubi¹ to James, son of Maurice, and be it known to James that my master sent him his blessing, and that unless James relieves us soon we are undone; for John is in prison² awaiting

¹ *William of Danubi*.—He was evidently servant to the Earl of Desmond, but we know nothing more about him.

² *John is in prison*.—This was John, the brother of Garret, the sixteenth Earl of Des-

mond. John was taken at Cork in 1577 by Sir William Drury, President of Munster, who sent him to Dublin to be kept there as a state prisoner. See "Four Masters," under this year.

my master, and so watched and warded that he may never get away again. And therefore, I beseech you, in the name of God, and in the name of my master, to bring relief soon, or you will not be able to overtake the relief of him, and to co-operate with the good helps [which now offer], such as the sons of the Earl of Connaught¹, and many others of the men of Erin. And, moreover, be it known to you, that whatever Edmond Brown² has said, nothing shall be wanting of it, whatever may be added to it; and be assured of it that we cannot tell how much we are in want of you; and though we would like that a host of men should come along with you, that we would be exceedingly glad that yourself [alone] should come to our aid; and be not dismayed by what hardship you have seen, for we think that the greater part of the men of Erin are ready to rise with ourselves, and we would be much the better of you. And do not wait for the harvest, for there is danger that the whole affair may be set aside by that time. And we would incite you more than this, if we thought that you would respond to us the sooner.

“And be assured that I do not write this of my own accord,³ but at the request of my master, and that it is dangerous to write from Erin to you; for the letter which the Seneschal wrote at Ballynaskellig⁴ to be sent to you by the merchant of San Malves [miscarried]; that merchant, and Mac Carthy, who was that merchant's gossip, betrayed the Seneschal,⁵ and Mac Carthy brought the letter to Portlairge,⁶ where the Justice and the President were. And the form that was in it was:—‘Life and health from John, son of William, to James; and be it known to James that the wheat of the friars⁷ has grown well, and that the wheat of the country has failed.’ And God saved the Seneschal on that occasion.

“I have no news except concerning the death of Mac Carthy Reagh; and that Rory Oge O'More⁸ has not left a stake or a scollop in Naas-of-Leinster, or in twenty miles on every side of it; and not only this, but that the flame of war has grown up in many of the men of Erin against the Saxons, if they could [but] get help.

“That is enough; but give a blessing in the name of my master⁹ to the King of France.”

¹ *The Earl of Connaught*, i. e. of Clanrickard, Richard Burke, or De Burgo.—For some account of the rebellion of this Earl's sons, see Cox, *ad ann.* 1576, vol. i. p. 348; and “*Annals of the Four Masters*,” 1576, &c.

² *Edmond Brown*.—Who was this rebel Brown? Was he the father of Sir Valentine?

³ *Of my own accord*.—The Earl of Desmond was wavering in his loyalty at this time, and it is quite clear that he was afraid to write to James Fitz Maurice himself, lest his letter might be intercepted.

⁴ *Ballynaskellig*, a place near Caherciveen, in the county of Kerry, opposite the great Skellig Rock.

⁵ *The Seneschal*, i. e. the Seneschal of Imokilly, John, son of William, son of Richard, son of Maurice, son of Richard, son of Sir Richard, son of Maurice, son of John of Callan, the head of a respectable branch of the Fitzgeralds of Desmond. For his rebellious

acts see Cox, p. 344.

⁶ *Portlairge*, i. e. Waterford.—The Mac Carthy Reagh here referred to was Donogh son of Donnell, who died in the year 1567, and who was faithful to the English Government.

⁷ *The wheat of the friars*.—This language was clearly enigmatical, but Donogh Mac Carthy was well able to expound it to her Majesty's servants in Ireland.

⁸ *Rory Oge O'More*.—He was killed in the year 1578. Thady Dowling states in his *Annals*, A. D. 1577, that this Rory Oge burned Naas, Athy, Carlow, Leighlin Bridge, Rathcool, Tassaggart, Kilbride, Ballymore, Kill, and Rathmore in Leinster. He adds, in English, “whom the Irish rimers extol like him that burnt Diana her temple.”

⁹ *From my master*.—From this it is quite clear that his master was the Earl of Desmond.

beaḋa 7 pláinṫ leat a rḡnṫbenn ip cum Arḡumnn Óioṫṫuḡ mṫe, Óomnuill ó n-a ḋapuiḋ 7 ó n-a compánac fein .i. ó é-Semur mac Muiriṫ mṫe an Iapla, 7 bioḋ a ḡior aḡao mṫiṫ do ṫeaḋṫ plan ḡu h Éirinn maille cumáḋṫ, d'Éir a ḡeapair mé d'airḋoir, 7 do Ériobal coḡ-crioḋ; 7 ap an ḋóḋap rin, iarruim airpean ṫeaḋṫ éuḡam 7 an méio buanaḋa ip mó ḡéaoṫ ré do ṫabairṫ leir; 7 maille riṫ rin, bioḋ a ḋeapḋ aḡe naḋ ṫáinḡ re riám éum aon éoḡuiḋ aḡann cora do me-anna mṫaḋṫ do beirṫ aḡe aḡ ṫeaḋṫ éuiḡe na an coḡaoḋ ro, ap moṫán d'aḋḋapuiḋ: ap d'úr do réir ḡu b'ḡuilmṫ aḡ cathuḡaoḋ ap ron ap ḡ-creiḋmṫ 7 Éaḡuilṫi Óé, 7 ina diaiḡ rin aḡ corṫam ár n-dúṫhaiḡe, 7 aḡ rḡḡior eiriṫḡiḋe 7 Óanar, 7 luḋṫ eḡcora 7 ainḋliḡe, 7 maille riṫ rin ḡor naḋ riḋbe re riám aḡ aon ṫiḡeapna ip ḡeṫṫiṫ d'ólṫap a éuapairḋal 7 a éeannaḋ riṫ ḡéin 7 re na mṫuinnṫir na díolṫap mṫiṫ, do réir naḋ ṫaḋa riám aon uair ip ḡeṫṫiṫ mo éomar ap a díol ná anoir, buiḋeaḋar do Óia mṫor na ṫrocairṫ ḋa éionn, 7 maille riṫ rin do'n mṫuinnṫir do beir an commur rin ḋam ḡa óia 7 naḋ leiḡḡe uirṫeapbuiḋ orum ó ro riṫar; aḡur ní beaḡ rin aḋṫ naḋ óénmṫaḋ ré ḡailḫ ḡan ṫeaḋṫ, a nḋoiḡ ḡu b-ḡuiḡeaoḋ re leaṫuḡhaḋ eirḡin in a b-ḡeapair re do dṫaḋ 7 do ṫṫao-ṫar ap mo ṫṫliḡe ri riḋmṫe reo, ḡupaileaoḋ ré ap a bṫaiṫṫiṫ 7 ap uairḫḫ na ṫiṫe an aimpir do ḡṫeḡṫa 7 eirḡi d'en-lamṫ ap ron Éreiḋmṫ Ériṫorṫ, 7 do éorṫumṫ a nḋúṫhaiḡe 7 maille riṫ rin ḡu bṫuiḡiḋ a mbuanaḋa uile a nḋiol ḡu hullamṫ, 7 ḡu bṫuiḡem uile inaḋ, hi bṫlai ṫeainṫur nṫmṫ aḋṫ ḡu ḡ-cathuḡiḡeam ap a é-ron.

JAMES FITZ MAURICE to AUSTIN KITTAGH MAC DONNELL. *July 18, 1579.*

"Life and health with thee, O writing, to Austin Kittagh Mac Donnell¹ from his own friend and companion, i. e. from James, son of Maurice, son of the Earl. And be it known to him that I have come safe to Erin with power, after all I have travelled and traversed of foreign countries; and for this reason I implore of him to come to me with as many bonaghtmen as he can bring with him; and moreover, be it certain unto him that he never came to any war coming into which he should have greater courage than this war, for many reasons: first, inasmuch as we are fighting for our faith² and for the Church of God; and next, that we are defending our country, and extirpating heretics, and barbarians, and unjust and lawless men; and besides [let him understand] that he was never employed by any Lord who will pay himself and his people their wages and their bounty better than I shall, inasmuch as I never was at any time more

¹ *Austin Kittagh Mac Donnell*.—He was one of the chief leaders of galloglasses in Munster at this period.

² *For our faith*.—Cox ("Hibernia Anglicana," vol. i. p. 361) gives a letter of the Earl of Desmond to Pheagh Mac Hugh [O'Byrne], dated November 29, 1579, in which he writes in the same style as follows: "It is so that I and my brother are entred into the defence of the Catholick faith [and have taken up arms to prevent] the overthrow of our country by English Men, which had overthrown

the Holy Church, and go about to overrun our country, and make it their own, and to make us their Bond men; wherein we are to desire you to take part with us, according as you are bound by conscience and by nature, to defend your country. And you be afraid we should shrink from you. After you should enter this cause you shall understand that we took this matter in hand with great authority, both from the Pope's Holiness and from King Philip, who do undertake to further us in our affairs as we shall need."

competent to pay it than now, thanks be to the great God of mercy for it, and to the people who have given me that power under God, and who will not suffer me to want from henceforth. And this is enough, but let him not neglect coming, that he may get some compensation for all the toil and labour that he suffered in my cause before now; let him request his brethren and the gentry of his territory to respond to the time, and to rise with one accord for the sake of the faith of Christ, and to defend their country, and, moreover, that all their bonaghtmen will get their pay readily; and that we shall all get a place in the kingdom of heaven, if we fight for His sake."

Ḑnár na liete leat, a ḡḡḡḡḡḡ ḡ ḡ Semur mac Muirir mic an Iarla, cum Airiunn Mleice Óomnuilt, ḡ innir, a bille, ḡ'Airiunn, mūrī do ḡeaḡt plán ḡ'ér ar imiḡ orm, tar air ḡu h-'Éirinn, maille re cumáḡtaib ḡ re commar, buiḡeaḡar do Óia ar a ḡron. Ar an ḡḡḡar rin, iarrpuim opuibī rin féin ḡ an méid do buanaḡuib ip mḡ féud-paíḡe do ḡabairt lib, do ḡeaḡt éuḡam, ḡ ḡu ḡpuiḡe rin ḡur ḡ-tuar-arḡul ḡ ḡur ḡ-ceannaḡ, ḡ ḡaḡ ní ḡur oirḡear ḡib ḡ'fáḡuil ḡu tuill-meaḡ, ḡ do réir ḡur ḡtoile féin.

Ḑḡur ip coruibḡe do ḡeaḡt, ip maḡe an féor ḡ caḡa aḡá aḡuinn hi n-aḡhaḡḡ ár námuḡ, .i. rinne aḡ corḡam ár ḡ-cpuidim ḡ ár nḡḡḡḡḡḡ, ḡ iao-pan aḡ cup an éreidim ar ḡ cúl, ḡ ar ḡí ár nḡḡḡḡḡḡ féin do buaim ḡinne; rinne ar an ḡpírinne ḡ iao-pan ar an mbpéiḡ; rinne mār ḡ-cpíoruibḡib Catoliceḡa, ḡ iao-pan ma n-Éiruibḡib; an cōir aḡuinne ḡ an eaḡcōir acapan. Ar an ḡḡḡar rin tḡḡaḡ ré féin, ḡ pḡpáileḡ ré ar a ḡráḡuib, ḡ ar uairlib a cōmarran a n-arm do ḡḡḡail, ar ḡḡḡ ar rin Óia, ḡ ma ḡiaḡ rin do éorḡam a nḡḡḡḡḡ; ḡ maille rin rin a mbia do buanaḡuib acca ḡo ḡpuiḡib rin anḡol ḡu hullam, ḡ taruir rin féor ḡo ḡpuiḡeam uile Tuarpḡal píorpuibḡe ḡ n-ár ḡ-tḡḡarḡa .i. ḡ iorḡ ḡrḡḡaḡ, ar rin cathuibḡe ar a rin.

JAMES FITZ MAURICE to AUSTIN MAC DONNELL, *July 18, 1579.*

"The custom of the letter [i. e. salutation or greeting] with thee, O writing, from James, son of Maurice, son of the Earl, to Austin Mac Donnell;¹ and tell, O billet, to Austin, that I have come safe, after all I have gone through, back to Erin, with great power and influence, thanks be to God for it. Therefore, I ask of you to come to me yourself, and as many bonaghtmen as you can bring with you, and that ye will get your wages and your bounty, and everything that is meet for you to get by way of hire, and according to your own wish.

"And it is the moreright for you to come, because we have a just cause of war against our enemies, viz., we are defending our religion and our country, and they are abolishing the religion, and about to take our own country from us; we are on the side of truth, and they on the side of falsehood; we are Catholic Christians, and they are heretics; justice is with us, and injustice with them.

¹ *Austin Mac Donnell.* — This was evidently a second letter despatched to the same Alexander by James Fitz Maurice, by a dif-

ferent messenger. Both letters were probably intercepted by the English authorities, and are therefore preserved.

“Therefore, let himself come, and let him request his brethren and the gentlemen of his neighbourhood to take arms, first for the sake of God, and next to defend their country. Besides, all the bonaghtmen that they shall have shall get their pay readily, and moreover we shall all obtain eternal wages [reward] from our Lord, i. e. from the loving Jesus, on account of fighting for His sake.”

Ḑnár na lúipe, a bille, ó t-Sémur mac Muirir mic an iarla, éum a éapair ḡ éum a compánuib réin .i. cum Raḡnuill mic Colla maoluib, ḡ innir bó ḡo núbairt-ra rúir an méib do buanauib ip mó réubpar ré do éruimiuḡaó, ḡ teaóe eugam, ḡ ḡo bfuḡiú ré a úiol do réir a éoile réin, úir ní rabura riam buídeó do úia cionn aon uair ip mó mo éumáeeta ḡ ip feair mo éommar ná aoir. Comairliḡ ḡaó aon bóó éáiruib lenab feirúí eathuḡhaó ar ron a ḡ-eiréim ḡ a núbairḡe ná úr no airḡeab no iab lé éóile úpáḡuil ar ron a útuapurúuil, teaóe dom innrúide-rú, ḡ ḡo bfuḡe ré ḡaó ní úíóib rúin.

“JAMES FITZ MAURICE to RANDAL MAC DONNELL. *July 31, 1579.*

“The custom of the letter [i. e. salutation], O billet, from James, son of Maurice, son of the Earl, to his friend and companion, Randal, son of Colla Maeldubh;¹ and tell him that I told him to collect as many bonaghtmen as he can, and to come to me, and that he will get his pay according to his own will, for I was never more thankful to God for having great power and influence than now. Advise every one of your friends (who likes fighting for his religion and his country, better than for gold and silver, or who wishes to obtain them all [i. e. to fight for his religion and country, and also for gold and silver] as their wages) to come to me, and that he will find each of these things.”

(*A printed Paper, Lambeth, Carew Collection, 607, folio 35, A. D. 1569.*)

“RIGHT HONORABLE PRAELATES, PRINCES, LORDES, ESTATES, CITIZENS, AND PEOPLE OF IRELANDE,—Oure holly father pope Gregory the thirteenth, Christes Vicare in earthe, perseaving what dishonor to God and his sainctes, what destruction to Christian soules in Ireland and England, what seditōn, tumult, spoile, & murder hathe fallen to Scotland, France, & Flanders by the procurement of Elizabeth, the praetended Queene of England: pceaving also that neither the warning of other Catholick princes and good Christians, nor the sentence of pope Pius the fifth, his praedecessor, nor the long sufferance of God, could cause her to forsake her schisme heresie and wicked attempts: as he now purposeth, not without the consent of other Catholick potestates, to deprive her actually of the uniust possession of these kingdoms, wch shee useth for her cheefe instruments of her impietie: so he first of all attempteth her said actuall deprivation by the means of o^r deere contrye, wherein he dothe us more hono^r and favo^r than can easily be expressed in wordes. For wheras he understandeth that other greate princes waite for a due tyme & good occasōn to revenge the manny fold iniuries wch they have received by the said Elizabeth, he like a good father, knowinge that comonly the comons doe beare the payne w^{ch} is due for

¹ *Randal, son of Colla.*—He was evidently another of the same sept of Mac Donnells, and a galloglass leader in Mun-

ster. This little epistle is obscurely written, but what I have added in brackets will render it intelligible.

the princes' faulte, hath taken the correcōn of these disorders into his owne hands, thereby desiring to save and excuse us from all foreyne invasions, w^{ch} otherwise ought and shortly would have bene made into o^r lands, possessions, and houses, to o^r great damadge and perhappes utter destructōn.

"Seing then it is most hono^rable for his hollynes to remedye so great disorders as by the said Elizabeth have bene these many yeares cōmitted: is it not also most honno^rable for us to be made the first and cheefe instrumentes of soe honno^rable a reforma^{cō}n, for in manner all Christendom shall see and will, that as Elizabeth hath bene the firebrand of seditōn amongst them: even soe her dispossession shalbe the quenching of the fire wherewth they have been soe dangerously combered these manny yeeres. Yf we then dispossession her first, shall not the contrie of Ireland obtayne the greatest glory that ev^r it had since it was an Ireland? shall not also this o^r glorie be accompanyd with Godes honno^r, wth libertie of consciens, wth doing good to o^r neighbors, and wth enioying of o^r owne goodes, w^{ch} hetherto have bene at the uniust comaundement of heretickes.

"Nowe in that his hollynes sendeth no greater foreyne power wth us to doe this acte, it declareth, first, that he would not have the contry oppressed with strangers.

"It declareth, secondly, that he hath great trust and confidence in o^r faith towards God, & in o^r obedience towarde him selfe.

"It declareth also that he himselfe the proper power of o^r contrie sufficient for this exploite. And noe wonder, for if wee o^rselves list not to hinder one another, but doe agree and ioyne together (as he trusteth we will, and indeede we ought to doe), it is certayne that there is noe power in this realme able to withstande o^r forces.

"And whereas som men may fear least greater power then o^rs is might be sent against us out of England, first they ought to cōsider that we fight not against the crown of England, but onely against the usurper thereof; and in this behalfe wee doubt not but a greate, and that the better pte of England will rather help forward oure good intent, then by any means hinder the same: for what wise and worthy Englishman will gladly spend his blood, & hazard his house & posteritie for her sake, whome he knowth to love all Englishmen evill, that her being sett in that high throne cheefely for their weale and pserva^{cō}n, yett had rather see them all dead, yea, rather one of them in Cyvill warres murdred of the other, and consequently her whole contrye destroyed, whiles the princes and comons thereof fight for the crown after her death, then [than] once to see her owne securitie never so litle touched by publishing the heire apparent to the royall crowne.

"Agayne, is not the most pte of England desirous to enioye the Catholicke faith? Dothe not the martiredom of manny, the prisonment of others, the voluntary exile of more, & the dire cōmotions of whole states and shires, declare and wites the same? Howe then can they, being Catholickes, fight hartely against us, whoe seeke nothing so principally as the restitu^{cō}n of the Catholicke faith.

"If others were not Catholickes in England (as they are), yett all the cheefe and strongest of the northern partes as well of Wales as of Chester shire, Lancastershire, and Cumberland, w^{ch} are nexte to us, are so Catholick that they long for nothing more then to see the sacraments of

Christ restored agayne in their contry. If then o^r neighbors be Catholik, and therefore o^r friendes, surely they that are farther of can neither easylie nor shortly passe on unto us.

"But whensoever and whencesoever they shall passe, assure yo^rselves that the praetended Queene can make no greate armye out of any pte of England, but the greatest number of them must be husbandmen, w^{ch} comonly are all Catholickes, and they will not fight against the Crosse of Christ, arected and sett up by his Vicare, under whose banner wee fighte. Yea, Elizabeth her selfe, knowing howe evill she is beloved in England of them that love Christes faith or the peace of their contrye, knowing also howe evill shee hath deserved of her neighbors o^r deere bretherin the nobilitie of Scotland, whose Castles, Palaces, mano^s, and townes shee hath so cruilly, without any faulte of theirs towards her, bournth and ou^tthrowen, dareth not send out of England manny of her deerest frendes (if at the leaste shee hath many suche), least shee fortune to stand in neede of them at home. If none of all w^{ch} thinges doe com to passe, yett I doubte not but we shall shortly see the saide praetended Queene soe fully sett occupied by foreyne powers, that then had shee at home nev^r soe manny frendes, shee should have small leisure to send them further against us, for as shee hath offended all Catholicke princes, so must shee look to be requited according to the measure w^{ch} shee hath dealt to them.

"Therefore, seinge the powers of France, Italye, & Spayne are much greater then those of England, reason would be rather for the stronger powers w^{ch} are against Elizabeth, then [for] the weaker w^{ch} may seem to stand for her, if there be any suche at all.

"But if we will needes fear the English powers, and none els, lett us yett feare them that are to doe us and oure posteritie most hurte.

"For seinge whosoever be the heire apparentt to the crowne of England, he can not but think him selfe iniured by Elizabeth for stopping, and under great penalties forbidding, the due publishing of his title & right, & the said heire & his whole powers (w^{ch} nev^r can be small), will rather love them that endeavo^r to dispossess Elizabeth, & hate them that fight for her then otherwise. For naturallie all men are inclyned to love and rewarde them by whose industrie they come the sowner to their preferment, and contrariwise to hate them who, when the occason of their preferm^t seemed to be at hand, were the causers of prolonging & delaying the same.

"And what wise man had not rather gratifie a yonger Prince that is towarde the crowne, & like to leave behind him a lawfull heire of his owne boddy, of whom he may iustly expect rewarde, then suche a one as is spent in yeares, and worne wth diseases, wthall leaveth no lawfull heire behind her, either to rewarde her frendes, or to reveng her enemies.

"Last of all, what an extream folly it is to feare the power of man more than the power of God? If any man die for the defence of Elizabeth, can shee save him before the throne of God? Shall not he rather be contempned there for mayntayning a heretick against the comaundement of Christis Vicare? For if Christ left St. Peeter as the cheefe pasto^r & govⁿor of his flock, seinge the Pope of Rome is St. Peeter's lawfull successor, are not we bound, that are the flock of Christe, to assist o^r cheefe pasto^r, when he comaundeth one that by baptism is a member of the same flocke, to cease from the evill gou^vnem^t w^{ch} shee hath soe long usurped, to

the utter undoing of a great pte of Christendom: if then o^r warre be of God, and therefore God be with us, whoe is able to stand against us?

“ This being soe, I, althoughe unworthy of that preferment, yett being putt in trust by his hollynes, doe expect all my noble and valyant contrymen to arme them selves wth a strong faythe, & not to fear any power that is against God, but rather to wyne wth Christe his banner, under wth bothe I and they may warfare together.

“ And that this o^r desire may be the better brought to passe, may it please my good lordes, the princes, leaders, and rulers of this o^r deere contry to meete together wth me in som convenient place, where order may be taken in comon for the comon good and wealth of this noble Ireland; for althoughe because I alone was present with his hollynes (and y^r hono^{rs} not onlly absent, but also wth in the dangers of the said Elizabeth’s power), I was onely named gen^{all} captain in his hollynes warre, yett it bothe was and is in my meaning to be advertysed and consayled of y^r hono^{rs} and lordshippes, whome I take in great pte for my betters, but evry one of you for my wellwillers & frendes.

“ And herof I assure yo^r lordshippes, as all other my deare contrymen, that as I hartely ask forgivenes of them whom I have at any tyme iniured or offended: even soe whosoev^r hath don me in teyme past the greatest iniurie in the worlde, if nowe he ioyne wth me in this holly quarrell, and continue faythfull to the same, I will forgive and forgett all that is past so hartely that it shall nev^r passe in my harte to doe or offer any maner of reveng to be don against the same pson.

“ I wishe, moreov^r, the case stood so that yo^r lordshippes might name the place of o^r assemblie, wherunto my selfe would gladly resorte; but for soe much as that can not be don by y^r comon consentes, but after long conference, and much sending to and froe, and the matter we take in hande requireth no long delay, but speedy executōn, therfor I crave pdon if I be soe bold as to request yo^r hono^{rs} to come wth all speed possible, or to send y^r lawefull atturnys to the place where I am, to th^end we may there make a ppetuall peace, league, and frendshippe, first to the utter destroying of all schisme and heresie, & next to the stablishing of true love & amytie amongst o^rselves, whereoff the ppetuall wealth of o^r deare contry is like to ensue.

“ And here, considering the warynes, or rather the wylines, of some men, who, for their owne wordly securitie, will see what others doe, before they themselves move out of their place, and others pretending the better to prepare themselves for their selfe coming, will also use delayes onely to see what event the tyme is like to have: And knowing that in the mean tyme the comon enemy of God and of us all will not cease to doe his best against me, & therby great damadg may com to me and my company before that my frendes resort to me: for this cause I must needes most earnestly request those that in deede have zeale to Godis honno^r and to ther contry, not to use suche delayes, but with all speede to shewe good examples unto others, beinge assured that beside the favo^r of God almightie, his hollynes & such other potentates as in this behalfe ioyne wth his hollynes, will rewarde any man wth hono^r, goodes, & inheritance according to the aready nes wth he shall shewe in furthering this holly cause.

“ This one thing I will say, w^{ch} I wishe to be imprinted in all o^r hartes,

if all we that are indeede of a good mynd would openly and speedylie passe o' faythe by resorting to his holynes banner, and by comaunding all yo' people and contries to keepe noe other but the Catholicke faith, and forthwth to expell all heresies and schismaticall services, you should not onely deliver yo' contrie from heresie and tyranny, but also doe that most godly and noble acte wthout any danger at all, because ther is noe furein power that would or durst goe about to assault so universal a consent of this contrye, being also backed & mayntained by other foreyne powers, as you see wee are, & God willing shalbe, but nowe if one of you stand still and look what the other dothe, and thereby the ancient nobilitie doe slack to com or send us (w^{ch} God forbid), they surely that com first, & are in the next place of hono' to the said nobilitie, must of necessitie occupy the cheefe place in his hollynes army, as the salsegard therof requireth, not meaning thereby to preiudice any noble man in his owne dominion or landes, w^{ch} he otherwise rightfully possesseth, unless he be founde to fight or to ayde them that do fight against the Crosse of Christe and his hollynes banner, for bothe w^{ch} as well I as all other Christians ought to spend o' bloud, and for my pte intend, at leste by Godes grace, whom I beseeche to gyve youe (all my lordes) in this world curradg and stoutnes for the defence of his faith, and in the worlde to come life everlasting.

“† In ôi tribulatïe spes mea Iesus et Maria,

“† JAMES GERALDYNE.”

(*Printed Paper, Carew Collection, 635, folio 40.*)

“EDICTUM ILLVSTRISSIMI DOMINI JACOBI GERALDINI, DE JUSTITIA EIUS
BELLI QVOD IN HYBERNIA PRO FIDE GERIT.

“Si ut bellvm aliquo iuste geratur, tria requiruntvr, cavsã ivsta, potestas legitima, & legitimi belli administrandi modus: haec tria in hoc bello concurrere, iam planum fiet.

“Causa enim huius belli, est Dei gloria, cui externum sacrificii cultum, & visibilem Sancti altaris honorem, ab haereticis impie ablatum nos restituendum curamus; gloria item Christi, cuius sacramenta gratiam conferre, cum haeretici blasphemæ negent, Christi Euangelium eiusdem infirmitatis accusant, ob quam lex reprobata fuit: gloria item Ecclesiae Catholicae, quam contra scripturarum veritatem haeretici aliquot seculis obscurant & mundo ignotam fuisse mentiûtur. At in Dei nomine, per Christi sacramenta sanctificando, et in Ecclesia vnitæte seruanda omniû nostrum salus potissimum constitit.

“Iam vero potestas huius belli sumpta est, primum a iure naturali, deinde ab Euangelico. Jus naturale potestatem nobis facit defendendi nosmetipsos contra manifestissimam haeticorum tyrannidem, qui contra ius naturæ sub poena mortis cogunt nos priorem nostram de Pontificis Romani primatu fidem abiurare, novamq̃. & plane contrariam religionem inuitos recipere ac profiteri. Quale iugum nec Christiani, Judei aut Turci, nec illi nostris unquam imposuerunt. Deinde cum Christus in Evangelio Regni caelorum clauēs, hoc est, summam Ecclesiae suae administrationem Petro dederit, huius Apostolorum principis legitimus in eadem Cathedra successor Gregorius decius tercius in ducem ac generalem huius belli Capitaneû nos elegit, ut ex ipsius literis & diplomate abunde constat, quod quidem tanto magis fecit, quia eius praecessor Pius Quintus Elizabetham istarum

haeresium patronam omnia Regia potestate ac dominio iam antea priuauerat, quod ipsum eius declaratoria sententia quam & ipsam apud nos habemus, manifestissime testatur.

“Itaque non iam contra legitimum Angliæ sceptrum, et honorabile solium dimicamus, sed contra Tyrannam, quae Christum in vicario suo loquentem recusans audire, imo Christi Ecclesiam suo foemineo sexui etiam in Fidei causis (de quibus cum auctoritate nec loqui deberet) ausa subicere, meritam Regiam potestatem amisit.

“Porro quod admodum eiusdem belli administrandi pertinet, nec bona ciuium nostrorum inuadere, nec priuatas inimicitias a quibus liberrimi sumus, persequi, nec sumam regnandi potestatem vsurpare cogitamus. Iuro restituatur Deo statim suus honor, et nos continuo parati sumus gladium deponere, atq. iis qui legitime præerunt obedire. Sin aliqui (quod ab sit) haereses propugnare, ac Deo suum honorem auferre deinceps pergant (nam quos de præteritis poenitet, iis nihil opponimus, nec vnquam opposituri sumus) illi vtique sunt qui de Hybernia veram pacem auferunt, illi sunt qui bellum patriæ suae inferunt, & non nos. Quando enim pax non cum Deo sed cum Diabolo habetur (vti nunc se res habet) tunc non immerito vna cum seruatore (*sic*) nostro dicere debemus, non veni pacem in terrâ mittere sed gladiū. Si ergo bellū quod ob pacem cū Deo renouandam gerimus longe, iustissimum est, qui nobis in hoc bello aduersantur, damnationem sibi acquirent, habituri aduersarios non solum omnes sanctos, quorum reliquias & sanctos imagines haeretici conculcant, sed etiam Deum ipsum cuius gloriam oppugnant. Atque haec sin satis hoc in loco, nam si quis plenius horum omnium rationem perspicere velit, is perlegat aequitatem & rationem huius edicti, quam alias plenius edendam curauimus.”

(*Book of Hothe, Lambeth, 623, folio 132.*)

“Another teyme, S^r John Perot, the l. presydent of the sowthe, beyng warnyd that wone Jamys fytz moryshe fytzgerald was towards that plas, (he was in a playne grownd this Jamis & his men beyng affotte) the psendent dyd gyve the chardge vallyently (wth his horssmen) apon Jamys & his men, wyche dyd let a passage betwene them & so reservyd the horssmen that to the lycke bangkett they was not wyllynge to be prayd aft^r, & soe both syde deptyd wth losse of both the ptyes: this Jamys rebellyd this teyme, 1570, the begynnynge was for the eyrll of desmond and his brother John were taken & sent to yngland for sertayne contempte wyche I know not, and thei apoynted this James to kepe & defend desmond in ther absens & so dyd to hys pow^r. After a skyrmis had betwene S^r John Perot l. presydent of the sowth & Jamys of Desmounde, wherein the presidente's secretary wasslayne whoe had store of gold about hime (they used rigoruse wordes & one pte callid thother cowards), where upon Jamis challengid the combat of the l. psydent hand to hand, or xij to xij a ho'sbacke, or affotte, wth eqall wepons. Jamys required that no mā of Ireland byrthe should bee ādupe¹ wth the l. psydent wyche wyllngly assentid unto & poynted a meating day at Kyllmallocke, the xvij. of November, 1571, wher thei had foght, had not the Erle of Ormound wth a gret nob^r of men come to the sayd towne the same day.”

¹ Obscure in original.